THE
NATION

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Renegotiation:

HOTTEST BRICK IN CONGRESS

Carl Dreher

Geneva:

PRE-NUCLEAR DIPLOMACY

Geoffrey Barraclough

Critics in Blinders:

A NARROW VIEW of the PRESS

T. S. Matthews

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LETTERS

Wrong Focus?

Dear Sirs: Having been one of the first persons to read Anne Braden's book *The Wall Between*, I was quite surprised to see what Mr. Harry Golden had to say about it in his review which appeared in *The Nation* of May 16. Mr. Golden did not really review the book itself, but engaged in a discussion of the merits of the Louisville case.

I think that Anne Braden's book is one of the best that has come out of the South in the last generation. It seems to me that a work of this importance is worthy of being reviewed on its own merits rather than on the merits of the Louisville case.

HUBERT T. DELANY

New York City

Mr. Cort's Broadside

Dear Sirs: Re David Cort's article, "Arms and the Man," which appeared in your issue of May 23, I am happy to inform you that it has always been Game Commission policy to oppose the licensing of hunting-firearms, and we will contiue to do so in the future.

M. J. GOLDEN
Executive Director
Pennsylvania Game Commission

Harrisburg, Pa.

Dear Sirs: At the risk of supplying another instance of Samuel Butler's dictum that no country is entirely without honor save among its own prophets, I'd like to question David Cort's observation that Vermont is "a very law-abiding state." Our merchants have become desperate about the shoplifting problem; our suicide rate is the highest in the land (guns are the normal instrument), and in a thousand and one other ways our 350,000 people are producing enough local talent to keep our eight or ten daily newspapers readable. Not many months ago we even had a lynching, about which our citizenry seems very tolerant, in the best Southern tradition; the two men ultimately indicted, on a first-degree murder charge, have unprecedentedly and inexplicably been released on bail.

HERBERT LEADER

Andover, Vt.

Persuasive or Persuaded?

Dear Sirs: Thank you for your editorial of May 30, entitled "GLEE and the Class of '59," which called attention to the advertisement in the Columbia University *Spectator* in behalf of General Lethal Engineering Enterprises.

Esther Bloom's letter, appearing in your letters column of the same issue expresses the belief that today's students are "more persuasively liberal" than were those of her own generation (presumably that of the thirties). My own experience has been that today's students are persuaded rather than persuasive, and lethargic rather than liberal. Their lethargy is exemplified by their failure to search for alternatives to the tragic "drift" toward war which characterizes our society. What is more, they have been persuaded that such a search is unnecessary. Mrs. Bloom applauds the current generation of undergraduates for not "making the terrible errors" which her generation committed. It is essential to remember that the surest way to avoid mistakes is to avoid action. I believe that there is a fallacy in Mrs. Bloom's statement that today's students are "more at ease in the democratic assumptions of economic and social life." It may be true that this generation accepts democracy as axiomatic, but it does so too easily. Politics is not a logic-tight system. To label a political concept an assumption is to purge it of life and make of it an empty god, to be worshipfully ignored. Democracy must be continually re-invigorated by discussion.

DAVID DUBNAU
Columbia University

New York City

The Ultimate Freedom

Dear Sirs: Allan C. Brownfeld of the Committee for Nuclear Weapons Development makes a telling point when he says in his letter (*The Nation*, May 9) that we are testing weapons to maintain what is truly important—our freedom and our dignity.

No doubt about it, we are never so free nor so dignified as when we are dead!

MARJORIE G. KELLY

Chicago, Ill.

Re-districting in Texas

Dear Sirs: I found Henry M. Christman's piece on Congressional reapportionment ("How Much Will *Your* Vote Count?", issue of April 18) of particular interest. We have been making a special study of this problem recently.

At one point, Mr. Christman writes: "The three most populous counties in Texas are Harris County (Houston and suburbs), Dallas County (Dallas and suburbs) and Bexar County (San Antonio and suburbs). Each county comprises a Congressional district." This is in error in one respect. Harris County had one Congressman prior to the 86th (current) Congress; re-districting to provide two Congressmen was passed in the regular session of the Texas Legislature in 1957. This eliminated the at-large seat previously held by Martin Dies. The new district formally came into being when the Congressman elected in November, 1958, took his oath of office when Congress convened in January, this year.

MASON WALSH
Managing Editor
Dallas *Times Herald*

Dallas, Tex.

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 20, 1959
VOLUME 188, No. 25

THE NATION

EDITORIALS

Let's See What There Is to See

In a burst of asperity, the President recently referred semi-privately to the "munitions lobby." The phrase leaked out and he was questioned about it at a recent press conference. The news media were careful, however, not to throw oil on the small flame thus ignited, and Congressional leaders displayed the expected incredulity and amazement. Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon B. Johnson protested "They have not tried to lobby me." Senator Symington, who is in effect the floor leader of the aircraft lobby, agreed with Senator Johnson that there was no need for an inquiry. Maj. Gen. M. E. Bradley, Acting Deputy Chief of Staff for Air Force Materiel, who happened to be before a Senate Appropriations subcommittee at the time, avowed that "the Air Force endeavors to pick out the best weapons systems for the country and the best contractor to do the job"; he himself had never been subjected to "any undue or improper" pressure, he said.

Some of these reassurances will be skeptically received even by the waiters in Washington cocktail lounges, and doubts have been expressed by Representative Clarence Cannon, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, and Representative F. Edward Hébert, who has been a gadfly of the munitions lobbies longer than General Eisenhower has been President. And Representative Carl Vinson, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, has instructed Mr. Hébert to start hearings, on or about July 1, into the hiring of retired military leaders by contractors in the defense industry.

Representative Vinson has been enraged by the attempt to scuttle the renegotiation process [see Carl Dreher's article on page 547 of this issue] and he is not one to nurse his resentment in silence. The scheduled investigation is all to the good, but while Mr. Hébert and his staff are asking questions about the hundreds of retired officers now working the other side of the street, they might go a little farther afield and get into the larger aspects of the subject. The employment of a retired general may be innocent enough; he may actually render valuable technical services and keep his skirts perfectly clean, as the phrase goes. On the other hand, a contractor may be a crook without military aid. But there are considerations even more important than corruption and malfeasance. The truth is that the services and the great munitions interests, in tacit alliance, are foisting on the United States a form of military socialism reminiscent of the Hitler-Schacht-Goering panacea for the depressed German economy of the thirties. If Mr. Hébert ever gets started on that, he will really be doing the country a service.

The Supreme Court Sounds Retreat

Largely due to the defection of two Justices, the Supreme Court has significantly weakened the restrictions which its earlier decisions in the *Watkins* and *Sweezy* cases had placed on Congressional and state inquiries involving the First Amendment. The effect of the *Watkins* and *Sweezy* decisions was unmistakable; both Congressional committees and state authorities were warned not to trespass on First Amendment preserves. Now, in the *Barenblatt* and *Uphaus* decisions, the court has taken back about half of what it said in the earlier, and parallel, decisions.

It is possible, of course, to distinguish *Watkins* from *Barenblatt* and *Sweezy* from *Uphaus*; conjuring up minor factual differences to rationalize conflicting conclusions is part of the judicial art. But informed laymen will be more impressed by the difference in emphasis and effect between the two sets of decisions than by any minor factual differences.

If there is no substantive difference, then how is the "swing" in the Court's position to be accounted for? For one thing, a new member, Justice Potter Stewart, has joined the Court. For another, Justices Frankfurter

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and Harlan have deserted Black, Douglas, Warren and Brennan, with whom they had sided in the *Watkins* and *Sweezy* cases. Still more important, a full year, in which several significant developments occurred, has elapsed between the two sets of decisions. During this period, Congressional criticism of the Court's decisions in the earlier cases has not abated. Even more significantly, perhaps, the Conference of State Chief Justices, by a vote of 36 to 8, adopted a long and sharply-worded resolution in criticism of the Court (see: "Judicial Steamroller," *The Nation,* September 6, 1958), and the American Bar Association approved the ill-considered report of a special committee which was even more critical (see: "Kill the Umpire!" *The Nation,* March 7, 1959).

While the Supreme Court has sounded retreat it has not, by any means, taken a final view of the issues presented by these cases. Both *Barenblatt* and *Uphaus* were decided by a sharply divided Court (5 to 4); cogent dissenting opinions were filed in both cases; and still other "First Amendment" cases, in which witnesses relied specifically on the *Watkins* decision in refusing to answer questions, are en route to the Court. Not only is the issue still very much alive, but we suspect that it will not be finally disposed of until Congressional committees and state bodies are compelled to respect the freedoms which the First Amendment safeguards.

Fallout in the Bread Basket

Listen to the AEC, and you will come away convinced that the dangers of nuclear fallout are greatly exaggerated and will not become serious for another thirty or fifty years (unless, of course, the Great Powers begin using their stockpiles for combat instead of testing). But no matter how often the reassurances are reiterated, the public uneasiness is not allayed. On the contrary, it is increasing. The basic reason for the rising dismay is that scientists who are not on the commission's pay roll and who have no ax to grind (except to protect their children and other people's children from ionizing radiation) are constantly finding and measuring "hot spots" which the AEC has overlooked.

Many of these areas of intense fallout are in the interior states which produce much of the nation's crops. For almost two years, now, Professor E. W. Pfeiffer of the University of North Dakota has been measuring radiation intensities in his area, and he found that on July 16, 1957, after the "Diablo" shot of the preceding day in Nevada, there was as much fallout in Fargo, N.D., as in the preceding two years in New York City. Mr. Pfeiffer published his findings in the Autumn, 1958, issue of the North Dakota *Quarterly* and sent copies around to the AEC and several Congressmen. The commission remained imperturbable, but as a result of an accumulation of such findings, several Midwestern Congressmen have become increasingly vocal. On June 8, Representative Steven V. Carter (D., Iowa) introduced a bill to give the Surgeon General of the United States veto power over the peacetime testing of nuclear weapons and the disposal of radioactive wastes. According to Edward Gamarekian of the Washington *Post and Times Herald*, Representative Carter was sharply critical of government scientists who remain calm while the roentgens accumulate. Representative Leonard G. Wolf, also of Iowa, described the accumulation as "a terrifying problem which is becoming worse"; fallout in the Midwest, he pointed out, is bound to affect the entire nation. Representative David S. King of Utah called the situation "shocking." Representative Robert W. Levering of Ohio said "the world may well regret that our leaders didn't go along with Adlai Stevenson when he proposed an end to atomic testing." When the professors, the farmers and the Congressmen get together on something, it is not apt to be ignored very long.

The Jet Era

The time to get excited about air safety is not after a crash, but before. The House Appropriations Committee has set the stage for a series of airline accidents which could eclipse the tragedies of the mid-fifties. It did this with the best of intentions, but that will be little consolation to the future victims. The Federal Aviation Agency, which was originally established to meet the public demand for safety in air travel, asked for $587 million to cover its operations and new installations in fiscal 1960. The House committee cut the request by $76 million. "It was a severe blow to us and one we hope we will not have to endure," Elwood R. Quesada told the Senate Independent Offices Appropriations Subcommittee last week. The reduction would necessitate "mothballing" air navigation and traffic-control equipment which has been delivered or will be delivered in 1959, but which can't be installed and operated unless funds are made available. Among the devices involved are 17 long-range radars, 19 terminal radars, 28 air-traffic control towers, 44 approach-light systems, 24 instrument-landing systems, and other vital air-navigation facilities. General Quesada, an airman not given to displays of emotion, pleaded earnestly for a restoration of the cuts.

The June 8 issue of *Aviation Week*, editorializing on jet-era problems generally, quotes from a recent speech by Maj. Gen. Joseph D. Caldara, Air Force director of flight-safety research. Flying jets is quite different from flying piston-engine aircraft, General Caldara emphasizes, and far more critical. "Fuel consumption by a jet engine increases astronomically as latitude decreases. . . . After a long over-water or transcontinental flight, jet aircraft cannot descend to make a couple of passes

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at a field and then climb back to altitude and proceed to an alternate. . . . There is no time to waste at the end of the ride — because there is no fuel." Congressional appropriations committees should ponder what Quesada and Caldara have said. At best our existing air navigation and traffic-control system is inadequate. When these considerations are added to others set forth by Karl M. Ruppenthal on page 556 of this issue, it becomes clear that budget-scrimping in this field falls little short of criminal negligence.

Forty Thousand to Go

In *The Nation* of December 7, 1957, in a "Program for Peace," C. Wright Mills set forth fourteen points which practical men would probably consider visionary, since none was calculated to further such clear, hardheaded aims as the expeditious manufacture of still more hydrogen bombs and the annihilation of all the Russians (and all the Americans). Nevertheless, eighteen months later, events are catching up with Mr. Mills in some of the points he raised. In calling for the recognition of Red China, he has received some support from the Olympic Games governing body and Senator Engle of California; and, in another phase of his program, from President Eisenhower. It may be that the President, moving in a rather circumscribed circle, has never heard of Mr. Mills, yet their minds are moving in the same channel. "The U.S. Government," Mr. Mills argued in his *Nation* article, "should . . . strive for an exchange next year with the Soviet bloc of as many university students as facilities permit. Fifty thousand, within three years, is a suitable goal." Now it is announced that, under prodding from President Eisenhower himself, the United States is trying to work out a scheme for opening our universities to 10,000 Soviet students, and vice versa. This is a considerable enlargement of the present figures, which are seventeen Russians in five American universities and twenty-two Americans in two Russian universities. "It is not known precisely who sold President Eisenhower on this mammoth expansion of the student exchange scheme," writes Marguerite Higgins in the New York *Herald Tribune*. We don't know precisely either, but, on the record, Mr. Mills could put in a claim. The President has only 40,000 students to go, and he'll be where Mr. Mills was eighteen months ago.

Listen to Poppa

A British gentleman in his sixties, interviewed by John G. Norris, a staff reporter of the Washington *Post and Times Herald*, took it on himself to warn the United States that it is wasting billions trying to adapt radar to defense against ballistic missiles. "The heavy expenditures you are devoting to SAGE (air-defense control system), the ballistic-missile early-warning system in the north and the Nike-Zeus anti-missile missile," said the visitor, "is a rather forlorn effort to jack up radar to levels it won't reach." He also decried the notion of an offensive nuclear deterrent and arrived at the subversive conclusion that the only answer to the problem of survival is a "political settlement" with the Soviet Union. The gentleman was taking part in the National Rocket Club's Missile Industry Conference and there he was introduced by Rear Admiral David R. Hull as "the father of radar." His name is (Sir) Robert Watson-Watt.

RENEGOTIATION:

HOTTEST BRICK IN CONGRESS . . *by Carl Dreher*

A YEAR AGO the aircraft and missile industry, through its official sodality, the Aircraft Association of America, announced plans to "offer an amendment to the Renegotiation Act of 1951 to promote efficiency and cost reduction in production of aerial weapons by permitting contractors to retain earnings contemplated by the terms of its government contracts." These unexceptionable objectives covered a collection of long-standing grievances, especially on the part of the old-line aircraft manufacturers, the gist of which was that they were underpaid and renegotiation was the cause of it.

To make sure that this primal wrong would be redressed, the industry itself drafted the amendment, or rather a series of amendments, designed to curb the renegotiators. Not being a member of Congress, the industry could not introduce the effectuating legislation, but a member of the House Committee on Ways and Means, Representative Cecil R. King (D., California) was pleased to perform this service for his Los Angeles constituents, among whom were numbered Douglas Aircraft, North American Aviation and Lockheed. Mr. King's bill, H.R. 5123, has been under consideration by the present Congress, together with H.R. 7086, sponsored by the Administration, which does not go nearly as far in meeting the industry's demands.

Although the lawyers and lobbyists of the aircraft industry are the equals of any that roam the Congressional halls, the outlook is un-

CARL DREHER is a frequent contributor.

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certain, for even the Administration bill is opposed by the redoubtable Representative Carl Vinson (D., Georgia), who has referred to it as "an Act for the financial aid of some of the wealthiest defense contractors in the Nation." In reference to Mr. King's H.R. 5123, Mr. Vinson, addressing himself to the sponsor directly, said, "Nothing would be happier to the industry and produce greater enjoyment and more hilarious acclaim than to see Congress pass what is known as the King bill. It would be a new day of profit for these people to whom the Government has poured over a half-billion dollars in taxpayers' money in their business. It will be a happy day for them, Mr. King. You can be proud that it will be a happy day, if that is what you want." Mr. King replied, "I, too, am opposed to excessive profits. . . ."

RENEGOTIATION is carried on in an auditorial jungle sprinkled with deadfalls and booby traps, but the basic facts and issues are simple. While everyone agrees in principle that unconscionable profits are wrong, when it comes to the profits on a particular government job, the man who did the job tends to feel an attachment, stronger even than the love of woman, for whatever is left over after he has met his costs. In general, the more that's left over, the more passionate his embrace.

The first statute designed to cope with this propensity was the Vinson-Trammel Act of 1934, which set a 10 per cent limit on shipbuilding profits and, five years later, 12 per cent on aircraft profits. The first Renegotiation Act, in somewhat the present form, was passed in 1942 and recovered over $10 billion, before taxes, during the World War II years. The present Renegotiation Act was passed at the outbreak of the Korean War. It provided for a Renegotiation Board, the operations of which do not appear to be as procrustean as the airframe industry has depicted them.

The board does not review the contracts of firms which do less than $1 million of defense business a year. Of the approximately 4,500 cases a year which come under the act, 70 per cent are quickly screened out. Thirty per cent are examined, and of these, 83 per cent are cleared. The board calls for refunds in only about 5 per cent of the original number of cases and over 90 per cent of these are settled by agreement, with varying degrees of complaisance or reluctance on the part of the contractor. Sizable sums are thus recouped: in the four-year period 1955-1958, refund determinations totaled $562 million; in the period 1951-1958, over $1.5 billion. Even in these days when the colossal has become routine, such sums may be accounted worth saving. It can hardly be doubted that the board has saved the government additional hundreds of millions by its mere existence, in the same way that the consciences of income-tax payers are sensitized by the knowledge that machinery exists for auditing a certain percentage of returns.

Formal refund orders are issued by the Renegotiation Board in only about 0.3 per cent of the cases reviewed—one in 300. A manufacturer dissatisfied with such a levy—and able and willing to bear the costs of litigation—may appeal to the sixteen-judge Tax Court of the United States, the main function of which is trying income-tax cases. Only one renegotiation case in a thousand gets that far. Probably not by happenstance, the bulk of the refunds ordered by the Renegotiation Board and presently before the Tax Court have come from the aircraft industry. The cases pending are as follows:

	($ millions)
Boeing	26.8
North American	17.7
Douglas	8.7
Grumman	6.7
Temco	4.8
Lockheed	4.2
Martin	3.2
	72.1
All others	9.6
Total	81.7

These big cases date back to 1952-1954. Boeing now has orders for jet transports amounting to over $800 million, with a government backlog roughly twice as great; but in 1952, Boeing's sales of $733 million were 99.6 per cent to the government. In 1953, the figures were $913 million and 99.8 per cent; in 1954, $1.02 billion and 99.8 per cent. The other companies were likewise selling around 99 per cent to the government, except Douglas with 82.6 per cent in 1954 and 88 per cent in 1953, and Lockheed with 94 per cent in 1953.

OUTSIDE OF THE government, the pickings were lean, and in most cases there was simply nothing to pick. Moreover, production was, and still is, predominantly in government-owned plants, with government-owned tools and government-furnished capital. As Robert Dechert, General Counsel of the Department of Defense, puts it:

> The Government buys the land, builds the plants, and lets them [the manufacturers] use them. . . . The Government buys the tools and puts them in the plant and lets them use them. . . . Thirdly, because they cannot get enough capital from their stockholders or enough capital even by bank loans to finance the material that goes into this, we make progress payments and take title to the thing to the extent that it progresses. In other words, we furnish the capital they operate on. In some instances we actually buy the raw material. . . .

When the procurement now in litigation was taking place, the companies also contributed some capital, which never approached the amount the government put in. In some cases it was a substantial frac-

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tion of the government's investment; in others it was a very small proportion. The adjoining box indicates profits before taxes earned by the major aircraft companies, according to figures furnished by Mr. Vinson to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Even the least of these returns may appear gratifying, but they do not necessarily present a true picture. In the case of Boeing, Mr. Vinson states that the company's figure of $42 million profit for 1952 was reported by the FBI auditors as actually $57 million. If the latter figure is correct, Boeing's return on invested capital was 161 per cent instead of 120 per cent. The Renegotiation Board asked Boeing to refund $9.8 million.

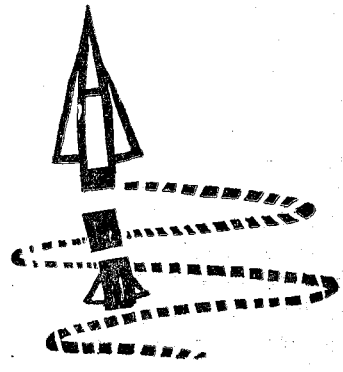
THE COMPANIES cannot hope to make a plausible showing of hardship on a capital-investment basis. The percentages belie them. Their only hope lies in profits figured on sales. The sales were and are huge. With denominators of nine or even ten digits, things can be made to look relatively pitiable, especially if taxes are first deducted from income. Thus, according to one industry compilation, profit on sales, after taxes, is only 1 to 3 per cent. The effects of renegotiation in 1952-1954 varied, but probably a reduction from about 3 per cent to approximately 2 per cent, after taxes, would be representative.

When such figures come out of the computer, the airframe magnates beat their breasts and howl. Their own salaries are scarcely such as to wring tears from the eyes of the bystanders, but it is probably true, as they claim, that profits on sales after taxes in the airframe industry are only about half those in manufacturing industry generally. It is, however, no less true that profits no larger than those of the airframe industry occur in many solid, well-managed businesses which are not financed and provisioned by the government. Last year, for instance, the stock of the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company, the world's largest food chain, soared from $241 a share to a high of over $500, and after a 10-to-1 split a portion was sold to the public. Looking the stockholders in the eye at the annual meeting, the president revealed that net income was $50,666,686 on a volume of $4,769,249,488: 1.05 per cent. In 1958, also, the net profit of the Radio Corporation of America, a well-diversified manufacturing and service company whose sales to the government accounted for only 26 per cent of total volume, showed a net of $30,942,000, after taxes, on a sales volume of $1,176,094,000: 2.63 per cent.

Profits in Aircraft

		Profit before taxes ($ millions)	*Per cent profit on capital*
'52	Boeing	42	120.6
'53	"	54	152.3
'54		66	110.4
'53	Douglas	45	148.2
'54	"	42	133.9
'53	Grumman	24	240.1
'53	Lockheed	54	238.7
'53	Martin	15	79.9
'54	"	21	80.7
'53	N. Amer.	40	612.0
'54	" "	52	802.0

WHATEVER their faults, A&P and RCA scrounge for most of their business. The government doesn't hand it to them on a platter; even in the case of RCA, three-quarters of the volume is non-governmental. No doubt the airframe companies would rather operate with their own capital and regain the independence traditionally associated with the private-enterprise system, when it raises and risks private capital. But in their actual situation, this is like a garbage collector wishing he could work in a perfume factory. The peculiarities of the vocation they have chosen — and they are not slave laborers, after all — precludes it.



Functionally, they are an arm of the government. Government and business have been merged for the production of modern weapon systems. The pretense of competitive, risk-taking business has been maintained on their behalf, but everyone knows it is a fiction. Their claim for profits on the scale of those prevailing in some sectors of civilian industry thus lacks foundation. All they are entitled to, actually, is a management fee.

MR. VINSON wants the present Renegotiation Act to be extended for another four years without change. The Renegotiation Board is reconciled to the passage of H.R. 7086, which makes considerable modifications in the act, such as allowing appellants who at present must accept the decision of the Tax Court, to continue on to the Circuit Court of Appeals. According to Thomas Coggeshall, chairman of the Board, H.R. 5123, the King bill, "would emasculate the [renegotiation] process beyond all further usefulness." Mr. King replied, "As far as I know, every entity in the airframe industry and a considerable number of other industries have read my bill and are in accord with its provisions."

The most important difference between H.R. 7086 and H.R. 5123 is that the latter would exempt from renegotiation all agreed profits, plus 10 per cent of such profits. At this point it must be understood that the bulk of procurement profits are negotiated, not determined by competitive bidding or market mechanisms. In 1958, according to Department of Defense figures, out of $21,827 million in procurement contracts, $18,712 million, or over 85 per cent, was negotiated between the department and a selected supplier. The amount of the profit is usually still indeterminate when the contract is signed. These contracts are largely of the "incentive" type, which means that the contractor may keep 20 per cent of any cost reduction which he may bring about by improvements in efficiency or technique. This is added to the base profit the negotiators have agreed on. The government gets the other 80 per cent. If there is a "runover" — if costs should exceed the estimate —

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the percentages are reversed: the contractor bears 80 per cent of the excess, the government 20 per cent.

There would seem to be no harm in keeping profits so obtained "inviolate," for surely efficiency is what we are after and the efficient supplier should be rewarded. Unfortunately, the proclivities of some of the contractors, and the room for maneuver which this sort of situation affords, may bring about a result utterly at variance with the incentive theory. Modern weapons systems are so complex that even the engineers versed in their design and production often wonder, and with good reason, how they can be made to work at all. The costs are even more doubtful, and can only be guessed at in advance. But we need not guess as to the outcome: expert testimony is available. Representative Martha W. Griffiths (D., Michigan) put in four years as a negotiator for the the Detroit Ordnance District in World War II and has been a close student of the latter-day munitions industry. Here is what Mrs. Griffiths has to say about the incentive-type contract:

> I submit, Mr. Chairman, that the incentive type contracting is not rewarding men for the savings they will make. It is rewarding them for boosting the contract bid price. . . . I submit there is not a negotiator in the entire Defense Department who is competent to tell you with any degree of accuracy whether or not a bid is a correct bid. . . . I submit to you, Mr. Chairman, that if the Department of Defense were competent to negotiate a bid with any soundness whatsoever, the contractors would not be here asking for this incentive type of contract. I tell you again that the incentive is an incentive to inflate the bid price and not an incentive to save. In my judgment, Mr. Chairman, if this bill [Mr. King's] as it is now written becomes a law, you can anticipate that the defense bill will not be $41 billion in 1961 but it will be $47 billion or $48 billion. . . .

Such inflation is, of course, perfectly legitimate. Where is the dividing line between honest doubts and calculated padding of a bid? Beyond this twilight zone there is another in which the conduct of a contractor may be regarded as perhaps a trifle unethical and the conduct of the contracting service as perhaps a trifle obtuse, but there is still nothing actionable. The General Accounting Office constantly uncovers such instances; one can scarcely pick up a metropolitan newspaper without finding, on a back page, a small item concerning some bit of procurement finagling which involved a few million dollars. In one case made public recently by Representative F. Edward Hébert (D., Louisiana), the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation was accused of having submitted airplane cost figures to the Air Force that the company knew were $4,110,600 too high. An additional profit of $1,251,007, over and above the 8 per cent guaranteed in the contract, would have accrued to the company. According to the General Accounting Office, the overcharge was "known to the contractor during negotiations, and the contractor did not reveal it, while the Air Force apparently did not question the figures." Lockheed merely submitted estimates which were in excess of the amounts they knew subcontractors would charge them. Courtlandt S. Gross, president of Lockheed, said that a company re-audit "supports the accuracy of the government report."

WHATEVER success the aircraft-missiles magnates may have in the present attack on the renegotiation setup, their longer-term prospects are not too good. The Department of Defense may not be overly solicitous for the taxpayer who, like his alter ego the consumer, sometimes seems helpless in proportion to his numbers, yet he remains something of a menace at election time, and the prosperity which keeps him quiet is only precariously sustained by government spending for armaments. If Congress should seriously unleash the armament manufacturers, the Department of Defense would have to find some other means of checking them. The cost of the new weapons is so great, even when they are efficiently developed and produced, and the demands of the services so insatiable, that even at present price levels the department is chronically strapped. If what Mrs. Griffiths predicts should come to pass, the Administration would be forced to put the bite on the taxpayer for still more money out of the pay envelope (politically dangerous and contrary to General Eisenhower's inclinations) or cut down on its weaponeering (unthinkable!). Thus the prospects for the anti-renegotiators having their way are far from roseate. But, of course, they'll try.

IT MAY seem the magnates are convinced that they can simultaneously enjoy the advantages of freedom and captivity, that these disparate sets of blessings, far from being opposed, are complementary. They would like to be supplied with business as a lion in the zoo is supplied with horse meat, but when it comes to profits, they would like to be free. Of course they are not alone in these contradictions; they only reveal them more innocently. They also reveal the real disadvantages of a single-customer business directly and preponderantly dependent on government for sustenance. Actually what they are asking is that, the renegotiation process being practically done away with, they should be allowed profits so large that eventually they could become normal borrowers and self-financiers like, say, General Motors. The taxpayers should set them up in business and write off the funds so allocated. Anyone would be glad to go into business on these terms.

Probably they are not really so naive — although a mixture of hard-boiled sapience and naïveté is by no means uncommon in the ranks of big business. Probably they are simply acting on the time-tested principle that when pressure is systematically applied, even if you don't get all you asked for, you always end up with something. If so, they may not be wrong. But it may be in their best interest if their more far-reaching aims are not realized. They are not so young that some of them may not remember the Nye Committee and the "merchants of death" furore of the thirties. If such forces were set in motion again, they might be like the megaton bombs of today, compared with the TNT firecrackers of a quarter-century ago. The profits of 1952 would not seem important then.

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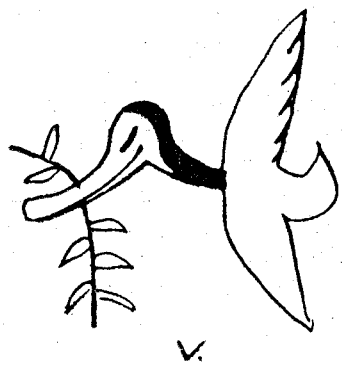
Geneva: Pre-Nuclear Diplomacy . . *by Geoffrey Barraclough*

AMID THE sterile maneuvering of the foreign ministers at Geneva, no one with any sense of reality can fail to ask himself whether this is all diplomacy can achieve and how far it measures up to the perils of the nuclear age. It is not only that diplomacy is helpless in face of the present impasse; far worse, it is so wedded to traditional attitudes that it has become one of the major obstacles to progress. What may have served in a balanced world of medium powers, with fairly clear conventions of international conduct and limited risks, is utterly inadequate today when a handful of bungling, overanxious or pig-headed diplomats may land us all in a nuclear holocaust.

What should be done, if we are to have even a ten-to-one chance of escaping World War III, we have been told a hundred times over; how to insure that it shall be done is a far more difficult question. In fairness it must be said that the situation is not quite so straightforward as it is sometimes depicted, and to oversimplify it is self-defeating. Utopian idealism simply produces the crushing retorts of crackpot realism.

We all know that we are bound together, Communists and non-Communists alike, in an "inter-dependence of doom"; but no one supposes that the voice of sweet reason alone is going to sway Mr. Gromyko, any more than it is going to sway Mr. Herter. In the first place, they and all their brood in all countries are educated in the old tradition of the diplomatic market place. They think in terms of bargains and compensations and of getting the better of the other man, although it is obvious that in the present world neither East nor West is going to get the better of the other. They think in terms of power, although the one clear factor in the current military scene is that power, however massive, cannot be used because of the overhanging threat of mutual destruction.

Today the prerequisites of power politics, which are the lifeblood of traditional diplomacy, are undergoing change; and yet the obsolescent old persists among the inchoate new. The sovereign national state of prewar textbooks is in eclipse; we are all satellites today, at any rate in Europe. And yet in Asia and Africa new nationalisms pullulate, even more virulent than those which poi-



soned international relations a generation ago. Moreover, under the umbrella of the hydrogen bomb, there is plenty of room for the play of national policies. Precisely because we dare not let it go off, we can ignore it; while the unsteady balance of terror between the Soviet Union and the United States means that little powers can put their fingers to their nose to big powers, and the tail (particularly if it is a German tail) can wag the dog.

Nuclear power, in other words, should have transformed international relations and dealt a deathblow to traditional diplomacy. But it has not done so yet. National interest, in its old narrow sense, remains the basis of policy, cutting across and debilitating even such alliances as NATO, although the only national interest, properly considered, which has any validity today is to remain alive. "In today's nuclear world," in Mr. Lester Pearson's words, "national interests cannot any longer be separated from humanity itself" (*Diplomacy in the Nuclear Age*, Harvard University Press). And yet, as every schoolboy knows, they are.

There is no doubt at all that these ambiguities and contradictions are stultifying. Are we simply to conclude, with Mr. Pearson, that there are no "easy and quick solutions" and that the most insistent problems "admit of no solution at all"? In that case, it should not surprise us to find that statesmen, more anxious (not unnaturally) to prevent the worst than to secure the best, dig us "deeper and deeper into our trenches, waiting for the inevitable but hoping to prevent it by piling up nuclear weapon on nuclear weapon." Here, indeed, is the origin of that "frozen" posture which Mr. Pearson deplores but produces nothing to supersede.

Even for his many warm admirers, Mr. Pearson's rather chastened little book will prove disappointing; and such remedies as he proposes — a return to secret diplomacy, the strengthening of NATO on a political level, a build-up of conventional forces, with an international police force as "a far-distant dream" — are puny and inadequate by comparison with our imperative needs, even if (as is open to dispute) they are either practicable or desirable. After the expectations raised by his title, it comes as a shock to find, at the end, that Mr. Pearson thinks that what the nuclear age requires is not a revolution in diplomacy but a return to the methods (not conspicuous for success) of Bethmann-Hollweg and Sir Edward Grey.

MR. PEARSON has of course some pertinent things to say by the way; but the fundamental weakness of his book is that it gives us the desultory reflections of a somewhat weary liberal without the deep analysis which is the source of new insights. Such analysis is provided in abundance by John H. Herz in his *International Politics in the Atomic Age* (Columbia University Press). My advice to readers who may find the going slow at first is to persevere; they will be caught and held by his cogent argumentation long before the end. This is a more rewarding book than many which have made greater *éclat*. Mr. Herz is not a man

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of flashing intuitions and his rather repetitive argument is not brilliant in style or tone; but he worries away at his problems — which are our problems — like a dog with a bone, patiently analyzing until in the end we get down to rock bottom. In particular, he meticulously sorts out, against a background of historical change, the new factors in the world situation which so many writers on current affairs jumble together.

His methodical approach is illuminating and convincing because it does not shirk the ambiguities. Unlike too many political scientists today, Mr. Herz never forgets how little we actually know and how much so confidently asserted (e.g. about the effects of nuclear weapons on policy) is pure surmise. Unlike Mr. Pearson, who believes that only the totalitarian states "see in diplomacy . . . an instrument of national policy," he treats East and West, the Soviet Union and the United States, exactly on a par, realizing that both are caught up in, and reacting to, a new international situation greater than themselves. The results of his analysis may be presented as follows:

1. We must start from the concrete situation, and seek concrete solutions to concrete problems. Much the same is implied also by Mr. Pearson when he calls for "realistic negotiation in order to find agreement in each case on a basis of mutual self-interest." Wider agreements will have no chance of being negotiated except "under conditions of a *détente* created by precedent settlement of . . . specific isues."

2. This means getting "away from ideological obsessions." It involves the sacrifice, at the present stage, of legitimate aspirations, such as German reunification or "liberation of the satellites." This does not, of course, imply *de jure* recognition of the status quo, or "approval in any legal or moral sense." Nor does it mean "giving away anything we have, or can reasonably expect to have without paying the price of all-out war." But it does involve renouncing "the universality of one's ideology," or what Mr. Pearson calls "a sanctimonious morality that arrogates all virtue unto itself." There are, as he says, plenty of issues which "can safely and honorably be dealt with on the basis of political expediency."

3. There will be no progress unless both sides recognize a "delimitation of spheres" on the basis of "what each side now holds." The fact that the Communist and Western blocs have coexisted for over a decade is itself an indication that "some kind of a rough balance does exist." Policy should be directed neither to giving that balance up nor to changing it substantially.

4. What is necessary is a "line which divides two spheres and whose crossing implies crossing the line from peace to war." No agreement on the legal or moral situation is possible; what in Korea, for example, constituted "foreign attack" in Western eyes was "hostilities within one country" or "civil war" for the East. Whether a campaign against Formosa from the mainland of China involves attacking foreign soil or "liberating" part of China is a nice juridical question, but practically irrelevant. What is necessary is to define the Thirty-eighth Parallel or the zonal boundaries in Germany or the Formosa channel as provisional lines whose violation constitutes "aggression." The vague term "aggression" should be clearly defined in this sense.

5. The above is all the more important because the attempt to distinguish betwen limited and all-out nuclear warfare, or between tactical and strategic weapons, is illusory. None of the various suggestions of "graduated deterrence" offers a sufficient guarantee.

6. On the other hand, the solution of technical problems (e.g., suspension of tests, atomic-blast inspection) is important politically. Hampered though it is by political factors, if it can be achieved, it will in itself facilitate the solution of political problems by "creating an atmosphere of lessened tension." The same applies to disengagement. "Since incidents or conflicts are liable to arise in spots where the blocs touch each other geographically," the establishment of bigger areas between them cannot but help to eliminate risks.

Mr. Herz does not pretend that these points, or others which he raises, provide a blueprint for a brave new world. They are only the bare bones of what he calls "a holding operation"—an operation conducted in the belief that "prolonged coexistence and successful accommodation," if they can be achieved, will create the basic conditions for further negotiation. Even so, they open up a negotiable way forward. Mr. Herz is convincing precisely because, with a minimum of rhetoric, he takes his stand on the immediately practicable. Mr. Pearson is surely right in his insistence that the demand for a quick over-all solution is illusory. The vicious circle of suspicion, counter-suspicion and mutual recrimination prohibits any notion of cutting through Gordian knots.

BUT IT is also a demonstrable fact (and not mere wishful thinking) that there are common interests at play which, over a longer term, may prove as strong as cold-war antagonisms. There is, first of all, the economic aspect—the stark fact that war preparation on the present scale is too costly even for such colossi as the United States or the Soviet Union. There is the possibility, at least, that "the present super-powers might yet want to co-operate" to prevent nuclear weapons becoming the toys of a Nasser or a Castro. There is the fact that people everywhere are increasingly interested in today's immense potentialities for well-being and therefore increasingly impatient of ideologies and ideological posturing. And there is, finally, the question of population, which already (in Mr. Herz's words) "constitutes the other big threat to the world, no less deadly than that of the atom bomb," and which, within twenty-five years, is likely to be the real challenge both to the West and to the Communist world.

Our business today is to create time for these factors to work. Compared with the professed goals of Western and Eastern diplomacy, which are totally incapable of attainment, it is neither a Utopian nor an impossible task. Moreover, it opens a hope for the future where traditional diplomacy is limited to stopping up holes in the past. For a dozen years we have had on all sides the voice of national and sectional interest; today we need someone to speak for man.

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A NARROW VIEW of the PRESS . . *by T. S. Matthews*

AMERICANS are great pretenders. We like to pretend that things are very serious when they aren't, and that they aren't very important when they are. Some of us like to pretend that the press in the United States consists of *The New York Times* and Edward R. Murrow. But those of us who cling to this pretense are in a tiny minority: the vast majority of Americans never read the *Times* nor listen to Mr. Murrow.

Our "respectable" press exists all right, though all of it put together is only a splinter compared to the enormous pulp log of popular newspapers, radio and TV programs from which most Americans get most of their information and a lot of their entertainment. And the American press as a whole is sensitive rather than self-conscious. It is sensitive to criticism, and generally considers itself the best judge of its own triumphs and shortcomings. In a discussion of the press, its spokesmen often adopt a tone ranging from the uneasily defensive to the pompous.

The latest attempt to take a good long look at the U.S. press was recently made by the Nieman Foundation at Harvard, under a grant from the Fund for the Republic. With Louis Lyons, a veteran journalist and the Curator of the Nieman Fellowships, as moderator, a series of fifteen television programs was produced, in which a number of distinguished journalists — and some equally distinguished laymen — answered questions and spoke their minds.

These were some of the journalists: James Reston (head of *The New York Times'* Washington bureau), Theodore White (old China hand), Eric Sevareid and Edward R. Murrow (CBS), Martin Agronsky (NBC), Palmer Hoyt (publisher of the Denver *Post*), Barry Bingham (publisher of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*), Walter Millis (former editorial writer on the New York *Herald Tribune*). Notable among the laymen were Adlai Stevenson, Elmo Roper (polls), James P. Warburg, J. Kenneth Galbraith (Harvard economist).

The programs were carried by forty U.S. television stations under the general title, "The Press and the People," and each program covered a different subject: "The News from China," "Washington and the Press," "The Economic Facts of Life," "The Photo Journalist," "The Television News Commentator," "Labor and the Press," "The Public and the Publisher," etc. I didn't see any of the programs, but I have read the (edited) transcripts.

THEY MADE interesting reading. In spite of the fact that television is a notoriously mealy-mouthed forum, some of these experts voiced telling criticisms—they were never exactly confessions—of the performance of journalism in their own fields. Even slapdash censure often reaches the target, and if criticism is really searching, it should hit some bull's-eyes. Though no score was kept on these fire-at-will colloquies, there were some palpable hits:

1. The press doesn't give all the news, and often fails to cover large and important areas. "We have keyhole information on China," said Mr. White. In this particular case, the State Department might be held largely accountable; on the other hand, "only a half-dozen of our greatest newspapers maintain and organize a corps of foreign correspondents of their own. In most newspapers the continuing story of world-wide developments seems to filter through to us only fitfully" (Mr. Lyons speaking).

2. The press often fails to make sense out of the news it does give. The consensus of press reports on fallout is that it is "controversial." Mr. Sevareid, citing Archibald MacLeish's dictum that understanding without feeling is not understanding, and that facts are nothing by themselves, showed some skepticism about *The New York Times* itself: "Is even the great *New York Times* really a great medium in that sense? I sometimes wonder." And Mr. Hoyt said straight out: "By the very nature of the news from Washington, the newspaper that prints all of the news is put in the extraordinary position of printing contradictory stories."

3. When the press does try to interpret the news, few of its readers pay attention. Said Mr. White: "The really important interpretive stuff does not pull circulation; or at least most of the editors feel that it doesn't." Mr. Reston complained that "there is more good information, solid information, about the great events of our time available to the public than the public takes advantage of." Asked if he meant that the public isn't reading that kind of news, he said "Yes." Earl Ubell, science editor of the New York *Herald Tribune*, stated that readers "don't even understand the things they read in the newspapers about technical things."

4. Objectivity in journalism is a myth. Witnesses: Mr. Dan Weiner, news photographer, who gave away the open secret that even photographs can be used "out of context" to fake a point; and Mr. Murrow, who said: "I have never known — and I don't think you have — a completely objective reporter. There isn't any such thing."

5. "The public" is not singular but plural. Mr. Roper: "We talk glibly about the public, but actually the public is a lot of publics, and they want different things in a newspaper."

THESE were some of the main points that came out in the discussion. None of these points was seriously challenged; none of them, I think, could be. Since the occasion was public and polite, and the men who took part were not members of a committee required to produce a signed report, perhaps the consensus was more apparent than real. Nevertheless, there was an apparent consensus.

Perhaps it could be stated, without too much exaggeration, like this: the press is not doing a perfect job, by any means, and in some fields its performance is rather spotty

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(government meddling and public indifference are partly responsible); but if the rest of the press would follow the lead of the best of us, and the damn public would only learn to prefer solid information to dubious entertainment, there wouldn't be much wrong with the American press—which in any case is the best in the world and a vital necessity in the life of the country.

Behind this general agreement there seemed to be the unspoken assumptions that the press in general sees eye to eye on what is important news and what is not, and that the "good" press does a fairly conscientious job of trying to tell the important news, while the "bad" press, for various unscrupulous reasons, neglects its duty.

One speaker mentioned the recent newspaper strike in New York as self-evident proof that the press is as necessary as daily bread. But Mr. Roper, though he holds the orthodox view that "news is the main reason for buying a newspaper," did inject a dangerously suggestive comment: "When we asked people what they missed the most, other than the news, women said they missed the advertising. Men said they missed the financial and sports pages." A pity he couldn't have found out whether they really missed the "news," and how much!

By the rules of the game, the moderator had to be content to raise specific questions rather than get general answers, and summed up his findings ("The job the press does is enormously uneven") in the broadest and most generous terms. Not being a moderator, I would sum up this investigation by saying that it produced a good deal of rather low-grade ore. Some of the experts gave straightforward and useful evidence, but some were orotund and silly, and the whole undertaking was based on two assumptions, one of which seems to me false and the other dubious.

Each program was introduced by a Voice (in what accents I can only imagine, but I suppose solemn, like Westbrook Van Voorhis in the old *March of Time*): "Today and every day the American people must make decisions on which their whole survival may depend. To make sound decisions the people must be informed. For this they depend on the nation's free press. . . ."

The first statement just isn't true: the American people don't make decisions every day. Some would say they go through the motions once every four years, others might put the frequency at once or twice in a generation. At any rate, whether or not they "must," the American people don't make a decision "every day." And as for how they make their decisions—do they indeed base them on the information they get from the press? That seems to me extremely doubtful, not to say fishy. In the bad old days of F.D.R., where

did the American people get the "information" that persuaded them how to act and vote—from his fireside chats or from the newspapers?

THE PEOPLE engaged in this inquiry were serious characters, seriously concerned in discovering the weaknesses of the U.S. press; we can take it that they all meant what they said. Nobody would deny that such soul-searching is useful, as far as it goes; the question is, how far did this go? The real villains of the piece were never even approached.

In short, the indictment brought by Mr. Lyons' furrow-browed panel is no indictment, but a whitewash. It might be translated into a bill of particulars against the bureaucrats, the press bosses and the hopelessly light-minded public who won't give serious journalists enough scope, money or attention to let them do their stuff as they really want to do it.

Clifton Daniel of *The New York Times*, who was "distressed" to see how oblivious the average metropolitan daily is to the example of the *Times*, put the whole case for the respectable press—and also gave the show away: "I don't know that a recipe for cookies has the same value to a housewife as a good article describing the Berlin situation for her and *interesting her in it* [italics mine]. Cookies are nice, but they aren't vital to our survival." Perhaps the *Times* should learn more about housewives.

A sufficient answer to Mr. Daniel was made some years ago by a hard-boiled feature editor on a hard-boiled British tabloid: "What was the use of worrying readers about obscure revolutions in Bolivia if they could not sleep at night through indigestion? Was a pregnant woman, whose husband could not possibly afford her fourth child, interested in a Parliamentary debate on foreign affairs which would obviously result in nothing at all? . . . Did newspapers really care what their customers read, or didn't they know how to find out?"

YES, WE are great little pretenders; we have to be, just to remember all the things we're supposed to take seriously. The press, as those who direct and operate it know—let alone the stockholders—is an industry. Nine-tenths of it is a commercial enterprise, with the accent strongly on commercial success. Would we speak of any other industry as if only a tenth of it mattered? On the contrary: what affects General Motors and U.S. Steel, as we know, affects the whole country.

And yet we shut our eyes to the fact that nine-tenths of the U.S. press is the submerged part of the iceberg that really counts. The distinguished gentlemen on Mr. Lyons' panel, aided and abetted by many of us, deplore this overwhelmingly major segment of the U.S. press (including most of radio and TV) as cheap, shoddy, ignorant and provincial, and in any serious discussion manage to ignore it, as if it didn't exist.

From the point of view of the immense majority of the U.S. press, Mr. Lyons' "greatest newspapers" and earnest broadcasters are just a bunch of nice Nellies. The boys who are read and listened to by the country at large know who Nellie really is, and they know that she isn't nice. But cookies are.

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Buy American and Pay More . . *by George H. Hall*

TO THE DISMAY of both management and labor in this country's heavy electrical-equipment industry, European concerns are making serious inroads in the American market. The situation raises certain questions: (1) is the electrical industry, relying on a semi-monopoly position, pricing itself out of the market? (2) or is it the high price of U. S. labor that is doing the damage?

Labor and management in the electrical-equipment industry have contradictory answers, of course. But they agree on one thing: demands that Congress and the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization (OCDM) intervene to assure that, for the sake of national security, contracts stay at home instead of flying off to Europe at the drop of a bid.

These demands have sharpened as the result of certain recent developments:

1. TVA's award to C. A. Parsons Co., Ltd., of Newcastle, England, of a contract for a 500,000-kilowatt generator over the competing bids of two U. S. firms, Westinghouse and General Electric. TVA said that the bids, after adjustment for "efficiency and escalation," came out as follows: Parsons, $13,140,700; Westinghouse, $19,453,725; G. E., $19,673,780.

2. The award by the Los Angeles Water and Power Commission of a contract to build a 200,000-kilowatt generator to Brown-Boveri of Switzerland. Brown-Boveri's bid was $9,260,000; G. E., the lowest domestic bidder, asked $14,757,930.

3. The award, also to Brown-Boveri, of contracts for two 22,000-kilowatt generators by the Medina Electric Cooperative of Hondo, Texas. The cooperative has not released details of the bidding, but the Swiss firm underbid at least one of four rejected domestic bids by 12 per cent.

4. The fact that the English Electric Company underbid the lowest American bidder, Baldwin-Lima-Hamilton, by 19 per cent on a contract for two turbines for the Greer's Ferry Dam in Arkansas. In this instance, however, Baldwin got the contract because the OCDM decided that, in the interest of national security, an American firm ought to do the work.

5. TVA's invitation, last April, to three American and three foreign concerns for bids on sixteen turbo-generators with a total capacity of 6,100,000 kilowatts — an offering of unprecedented size. The bids are now in preparation.

ALL OF THESE developments, and especially the huge TVA project, have prompted a series of charges and countercharges from both U.S. industry and labor, each accusing the other of responsibility for letting fat contracts get out of the country.

James B. Carey, president of the Electrical Workers (AFL-CIO), wrote G.E. and Westinghouse, two of the bidders on the TVA turbo-generators, urging that bids be submitted on a "practical and realistic" basis. Conceding that labor costs are higher here than elsewhere, Carey emphasized offsetting advantage to U.S. producers: the fact that foreign firms must pay import duties, as well as greater freight and insurance costs; and that, with respect to TVA bids, there is an automatic 20 per cent differential credited to American manufacturers.

Mark W. Cresap, Jr., president of Westinghouse, took strong issue with Carey:

> These so-called "offsetting" advantages fall far short of making up for the fact that United States average wages are more than two and a half times the average wage in British industry. . . . Westinghouse has no chance whatever of quoting prices as low as those which can be quoted by the British and other foreign firms.

Manufacturers don't disclose cost data; unofficially, however, they have sought to convey the impression that labor accounts for 55 per cent of costs in the heavy electrical-equipment industry. Knowledgeable outsiders insist that estimate is at least 20 per cent too high. Albert J. Fitzgerald, president of the United Electrical Workers (Ind.), analyzing costs with relation to the generator contract that went to the British Parsons firm, insists that Parsons' labor costs were only $91,000 less than those of G.E. and Westinghouse, the two losing bidders who asked $6,000,000 more for the job than did the British firm.

TVA itself, in defense of the Parsons contract, supports Fitzgerald's general position, although not his specific figures. Said a TVA spokesman:

> Westinghouse says British labor receives only 37 per cent of the hourly rate paid to electrical workers here. G.E. has suggested that the ratio is 40 per cent. Westinghouse has told TVA that 1,080,000 man-hours of work in its shops would have been involved in building the turbo-generator. . . . The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports the average hourly wage rate in the electrical manufacturing industry for October, 1958, was $2.28.
>
> The foregoing figures suggest that differences in labor costs would be in the neighborhood of $1,500,000, and this does not allow for any greater manufacturing efficiency in the larger U.S. plants of G.E. and Westinghouse. This computed difference is less than half the price advantage provided for domestic manufacturers. In fact, it appears that the import duty is adequate to protect U.S. turbo-generator manufacturers against differences in labor costs.

On the other hand, TVA added an argument that neither Fitzgerald, nor any spokesman for electrical unions, would be likely to accept—i.e., that whatever its immediate effect, the Parsons contract helped labor by increasing Britain's supply of dollars for other U.S. purchases; and further, that the savings of more than $6,000,000 on the contract will ultimately decrease the price of electricity in the TVA area, thus enhancing the market for Westinghouse, G.E. and other electrical appliances.

The "national security" argument, which the electrical-equipment industry is using to buttress its demands that Washington do something to thwart bids from going

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abroad, is based on the thesis that unless domestic manufacturers can be kept busy, they will not be able to maintain the kind of facilities that may be needed by the country should an emergency arise. This argument, which has been used in other fields, invariably rouses the ire of our allies; Sir Harold Caccia, the British Ambassador, protested strongly when Baldwin won a contract against a British firm which had underbid it.

THE Electrical Workers (AFL-CIO), through their secretary-treasurer, Al Hartnett, has urged that any inquiry into the electrical-equipment industry cover the problem of employment as well as that of national security. He wrote the OCDM:

> While we are determined to protect our membership against unfair competition based on any substandard conditions of work abroad, we are also interested to be sure that the broad ground of "national security" is not an attempt to cover up excessive profits or a grab for monopolistic power. . . .

Labor's case against the pricing policies of the industry would seem to be buttressed by two objective factors. The first is that, according to government statistics, the prices of steam-turbine generators have increased 50 per cent in the last three years, while wage rates have increased only 15 per cent. The second is the remarkable frequency with which competing American firms, bidding for the same job, come up with identical bids. The following examples are taken from TVA files:

1. On April 1, 1958, G.E., Allis-Chalmers and Westinghouse offered to deliver oil circuit-breakers to Knoxville, Tenn., for the identical price of $32,375.

2. On March 2, 1959, seven firms offered to deliver to Chattanooga, Tenn., a supply of insulators for the identical price of $10,200.

3. In February, 1959, G.E., Westinghouse and the Ohio Brass Company offered Chattanooga insulators for the identical price of $7,495.38.

4. On March 31, 1959, seven companies offered to deliver distribution transformers to Jackson, Tennessee, for the identical price of $1,970 (including freight charges from different cities).

These bidding practices will come under the scrutiny of the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee, which will hold hearings this summer on pricing difficulties that have beset TVA. The hearings will be followed with extraordinary interest not only by the specialized electrical-equipment industry, but by all steel consumers. After all steel, as well as labor, is a component part of a generator. And it does not detract from the crisis faced by the electrical-equipment manufacturers that, at the very moment steel management and the Steelworkers are negotiating toward what looks to be another rise in U.S. steel prices, the British steel industry has announced a 2 per cent cut.

THE PILOT FLIES IT SAFE . . *by Karl M. Ruppenthal*

NOT MANY YEARS ago, the pilots on one of the nation's major airlines were complaining persistently about the condition of their aircraft, contending that maintenance was shoddy and inspection procedures lax. One morning a captain, about to board his aircraft, decided to make a close inspection. When he thumped the fabric on the elevators to see if it was taut, his thumb poked through.* He refused to fly the aircraft because it was unsafe. The company fired him for damaging the plane.

The captain filed a grievance. The company refused him a hearing, and pressures increased. The matter was not settled until after a bitter strike. The pilots on that line retained the prerogative of refusing to fly any aircraft which they believe to be unsafe.

Since the earliest days of airline flying, there have been conflicts between pilots and their employers regarding air safety. The first transport planes had but one radio; if a wire shorted or a tube got tired, it went dead. On clear days, this mattered little, for the flight simply proceeded to an airport unannounced. But if the pilot was on instruments, he was immediately in trouble. When the Air Line Pilots Association demanded that two radios be made standard equipment on all transports, many airlines resisted, objecting not only to the cost of the extra radio but to the payload that would be displaced. The ALPA won. Today's planes carry dozens of specialized radios which make possible modern navigation.

By law, the airline captain is charged with the safe operation of every flight. Once off the ground, he has virtually the same authority as does a sea captain. The Civil Air Regulations clothe him with emergency authority which would allow him to jettison cargo, land at a SAC air base, or subdue a drunken passenger. About the only requisite is that an emergency must actually exist. After he lands, he must file a written report.

But on the ground the story may be different. The advance plans for a flight may be based on a forecast of good terminal weather. Every seat on a popular flight from New York to Los Angeles may be sold. Such a flight may require 5,800 gallons of gasoline for non-stop operation. But what happens when the captain arrives at the airport

*Although modern transport planes are made of metal, many still have fabric-covered control surfaces which reduce their weight and enable pilots to operate them without the help of any mechanical or hydraulic device.

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and discovers that the forecast did not pan out and that terminal weather is borderline? A conservative flight plan, calling for sufficient fuel to hold at Los Angeles for an hour or so and then to proceed to an alternate airport, may require 6,300 gallons of gas. But if he requests this additional weight in fuel, confirmed passengers may be removed. If they are, the company may be charged with violating the CAB's oversale regulations. If he accepts the lower fuel release, he may have to land at an enroute airport for fuel. And this course of action is something less than popular on a flight which is billed as nonstop! The solution? Some airlines are conservative. They confirm reservations for only those passengers who may be carried with the heavier gas load. But others toss the ball to the clerks at the airport.

SQUEEZED by the pilot's demand for adequate fuel and the passengers' insistence on riding the plane on which they are confirmed, the agent may resort to faulty addition. The pilot will get his fuel (he will not take off without it!), and the passengers will all be loaded. But their weights will be mis-added. This means, simply, that the flight may take off with a couple of thousand pounds overweight, and the plane may groan a little as it approaches the end of the runway. Such an overweight condition is not critical on the DC-7s and Constellations at most airports today, but on the jets the story may be different. At many airports short runways already limit take-off gross weights of the jets. There isn't much margin for mis-addition.

Sometimes the airlines do not provide their planes with all the available safety devices. Not long ago, one of the major airlines bought a fleet of planes without steerable nose wheels or reversible propellers. Steerable nose wheels make it possible for a pilot to maneuver a plane in a tight spot on the ground; reversible propellers help to stop a plane after landing. Both may come in handy on an icy runway.

When the ALPA demanded these devices, the company refused. A ridiculous request, said the company's executive vice president—an unjustifiable expense. But within months he had to eat crow. One of the planes landed on an icy runway at a busy terminal. Its brakes were ineffective, and it skidded out of control. It came to rest on a busy city street. Fortunately traffic was light, and nobody was injured. The price of that accident would have outfitted the entire fleet with the safety devices. But it took a second accident at another airport to make the vice president change his mind.

Sometimes safety makes strange bedfellows. The ALPA safety committee on one airline was aghast at maintenance conditions. They protested to the chief pilot. Carefully they detailed their grievances: turnaround time was too short for proper maintenance; some stations didn't have enough mechanics; some faulty items were being written off without actual correction of the defects. Angrily, the chief pilot told them that they had no grounds for their complaints. He said that the company was as much interested in safety as they, and that all these matters had been carefully worked out. As the pilots prepared to leave, he asked their chairman to remain. When the rest had gone and he felt he could speak in confidence, he changed his tune.

"For God's sake don't give up now," he said. "You're absolutely right. I've been trying to get more money for maintenance for months but old money-bags won't listen. I need your help. If you raise enough hell, we'll get the money. It might take a strike threat to jar them loose. You guys have the power."

Another chief pilot was not so subtle. His line had launched a campaign to sell itself as the fastest airline in America. For months it advertised schedules that the planes could not possibly make. When the passengers began to discover that the planes were always late, the company put the heat on the pilots to make better time. Subtly they were encouraged to cut corners. They seldom filed flight plans. Frequently they flew off airways. And they pushed their engines for all they were worth. When their engines began to fail at an alarming rate, they "forgot" to file engine failure reports with the CAB. Finally the situation got so bad that one chief pilot could stand it no longer. He made photostatic copies of the company's engine-failure reports and sent them to the ALPA. The association acted. In a matter of days the CAB issued an order asking the line to show cause why it should not stop its illegal practices.

THE BATTLE over safety seldom makes the headlines. Not long ago, the pilots on one line were concerned about the training given their co-pilots. Men were being assigned to four-engine aircraft with little more than "three bounces" to qualify them. Some had never even landed the aircraft. When the ALPA demanded that the co-pilots be given more training, the company insisted that it could not afford the expense. Since the basic contract was about to expire, the pilots proposed a section which would require a program of "adequate training, satisfactory to the Air Line Pilots Association." This the company could not allow. If such a section appeared in the contract, it would be tacit admission that the company's training had not been adequate. If it refused, however, and the matter went to arbitration, the slipshod training practices might make the press. So the company agreed—to the training, that is, not to the contract provision. While nothing about it appears in the printed agreement today, the co-pilots are getting the training they need.

All this is not to say that the airline companies are not interested in safety. They are. But the point of view is not always the same. Some pilots believe that the board of directors sits in its walnut-paneled room and coldly calculates the cost of safety equipment as against the probable cost of an accident. Probably nothing so cold-blooded ever happens. But the pilots on the nation's airlines are a lot closer to the scene than the non-flying executives. It is the business of the company's management to avoid extravagance and to make a profit. The pilots hope management succeeds. For themselves, safety considerations come first.

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Fragment of a Serpent's Eye

THE KING'S PEACE. By C. V. Wedgwood. The Macmillan Co. 510 pp. $7.50.

THE KING'S WAR. By C. V. Wedgwood. The Macmillan Co. 703 pp. $7.50.

George Dangerfield

FEW HISTORIANS have explained their position more frankly than Miss Wedgwood has done in her preface to *The King's Peace*, the first of two published volumes (there are more to come) on the Great English Rebellion of 1640 to 1660. "I have not attempted in this book," she says, "to examine underlying causes, but rather to give full importance and value to the admitted motives and illusions of the men of the seventeenth century. I have sought to restore the immediacy of experience."

Immediacy of experience, I suggest, cannot be restored in the way that it is possible to restore a church, a statue or a painting, or to amend a dubious reading in a folio. Even the most scrupulous scholarship — and Miss Wedgwood's is beyond reproach — cannot restore what simply does not exist. In her description of one of the most crucial incidents in English constitutional history — Charles I's invasion of the House of Commons in search of the "five members" — she has assembled the most significant details, down to the coarse royal troops standing outside the open door, "some of whom were already cocking their pistols and playfully pretending to mark down their men." For a moment one has the *frisson* of sharing an actual experience with some parliamentary gentlemen who have been dead these three hundred years: but it is a passing, a momentary thrill. One cannot restore Laocoön with nothing more to go on than the fragment of a serpent's eye.

Miss Wedgwood is a fine descriptive writer, but she is also a historian, a subject of the empire of fact; and the great scene ends, as it began, in "an awful silence." The sensations of the King and the members can be revealed only in fiction, which is possibly the highest truth of all, but is not historical truth, some part of which Miss Wedgwood is determined to explore.

One must suppose, therefore, that by immediacy of experience, she means "the motives and explanations which satisfied contemporaries," which are not really immediate. In other words, she confines herself as far as possible to contemporary evidence, the evidence of men who were unable in the nature of things to synthesize their experience. Obviously this evidence cannot be used at all without a wide knowledge of "underlying causes," and Miss Wedgwood's bibliography shows that she has read all the significant secondary material. But she then dismisses the underlying causes and gives us "a straightforward and chronological narrative," designed "to show the unfolding of certain characters and the emergence of others and to comment on them, as far as possible, from evidence relating to the years described." Anyone could guess from this, even if she had not honestly written it down, what her bias is. But she has written it down. "The behaviour of men as individuals is more interesting to me than their behaviour as groups or classes. History can be written with this bias as well as another; it is neither more nor less misleading. The essential is to recognize that it answers only one set of questions in only one way."

I believe that history written with this bias is more rather than less misleading; that it tends to be biographical, in the sense that it isolates and fragments experience; that it does not answer even one set of questions. It is more rather than less misleading, because it only *appears* to lead. Miss Wedgwood is not willing to exercise her historical imagination in terms of generalization: she is not really a leader, she is a guide. She will take you through the maze, she will describe with felicity and precision all the interesting objects you encounter along the way, she will bring you to the center: but you will never know how you got there, or why the maze existed in the first place, or what shape it has. I do not mean that hers is bad history; I mean that it is limited history.

It has its advantages. Surely nobody has told the story of the Great Rebellion so well as she has told it in these volumes, with such a respect for fact, with such vividness, with such an ability to manage the events in three kingdoms so that they march forward in an orderly manner. If she has limited herself to historical narrative — in other words, to the events of political history and nothing more — it is the best of its kind; scrupulous, dramatic, never silly.

WHEN you dramatize political history, or attempt to restore the immediacy of individual experience, you are showing a bias toward romance. The subject of these two volumes is the King's struggle with Parliament from 1637 to 1642 (*The King's Peace*) which led to the First Civil War from 1642 to 1646 (*The King's War*). The beginning is as arbitrary as the end: the author has spared the reader those preliminary explanations which alone would have made him understand why the King was facing such a desperate struggle; and although the second volume ought logically to end with the Second Civil War and the execution of the King, she has saved that monarch's head for the next volume. In this way, the story appears rather rebellious than revolutionary, a struggle between Cavaliers and Roundheads, a stern but romantic tale.

A mature historian with a romantic bias will experience some difficulty in resisting the magnetism of the Royalist cause. The opening chapters of Miss Wedgwood's first volume contain a marvelous evocation of the England of Van Dyck: how can she avoid displaying a certain tenderness toward the King whose court was, after all, the epitome of that enchanting England? Scrupulous as always, she points out the innumerable shortcomings of Charles I: his failures in administration, in common sense, in common decency. She does not even make the most of his aesthetic gifts, and nobody could say that in her second volume she is disposed to emphasize the King's emerging role of "Charles the Martyr." How then does she display her bias? In the first volume, it is in her glorification of the Earl of Strafford who, however brave and disinterested he may have been, was an enemy to English liberties. If Strafford was a glorious figure, then there was something contemptible about the parliamentarians who slew him with a bill of attainder. The King, who signed the bill which sent his greatest supporter to the block, is duly admonished in her pages: but the King's cause and Strafford's cannot be separated; praise one

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and, by implication, you praise the other. In her second volume, again, she is interpreting the Civil War "rather as the defeat of the King than as the victory of Parliament." Although the Civil War, as she narrates it, becomes as savage, bloody and morose as civil wars commonly are, yet there hangs about it the glamour of the lost cause — the defeat of the King, not the victory of Parliament.

It is true that as soon as Strafford is out of the way she does her utmost to make the best of both sides: yet this treatment leads to very serious difficulties. The Great Rebellion was, there is no doubt of it, a revolution; and about the nature and origins of this revolution there has been a great deal of controversy. What can a reader who, like myself, claims no expert knowledge of this period, find in Miss Wedgwood's pages which will assist him in his bewilderment? "I have learnt much from the broad vision of Professor R. H. Tawney," she says in the first of her Bibliographical Notes, "from the writings of Mr. Hugh Trevor-Roper and Mr. Christopher Hill, if sometimes by the stimulus of disagreement." But that is all she says. To amplify this, one must state — at a grave risk of over-simplification — that Tawney interprets the Great Rebellion as an alliance between the gentry and the bourgeoisie against a quasi-feudal monarchy, while Trevor-Roper holds that it was a revolt of the radical gentry against the capitalists and the King. Was Calvinism, as Christopher Hill asserts, directly related to capitalism? Or was it (this is Trevor-Roper's position) the religion, not of the business community, but of decayed, impoverished, "backwoods" gentlemen, in Gelderland, in Scotland, in the Shires? Clearly, if such questions can be asked, the differences in historical interpretation are acute; and when a new work comes out, bearing upon its front all the signs of authority, we naturally hope that it will throw some light upon this very dark situation.

SOMETHING we will, of course, extract from the work of Miss Wedgwood. She has read all the literature on the economic-religious question, and some of what she has read has rubbed off on her pages. Faintly, delusively luminous, it glows in many hints and allusions which, somehow or other, only cancel one another. The anti-Spanish Providence Company, the core of resistance to Charles I, was a freebooting enterprise. ("The Earl of Warwick and his friends," she writes with her usual felicity, "were sincerely trying to create three nests of pirates with the behaviour and morals of a Calvinist theological seminary.") No sober capitalist would have had anything to do with it. The East India Company, on the whole a most serious business venture, was also opposed to the King: it was not opposed to his pro-Spanish policy, but detested his religion. Again, she makes it clear — or seems to make it clear — that Charles's handling of monopolies and patents was too capricious and dishonest to satisfy any sensible capitalist, unless he was a hanger-on at court; yet, on the crucial question of the friendship or otherwise of the City of London towards the King, she appears to take the view that a majority of the City merchants was Royalist. My point is that she never commits herself, never makes a judgment, but comes to rest in the position that "political divisions in the House of Commons did not follow any clearly defined lines of class, property or social interest." To one in search of enlightenment, this position is not even, historically, a neutral one: historically it is neuter. We are left with a masterful political and military narrative, in which we flounder helplessly in search of the "underlying causes" which set it in motion.

There is one ray of hope, a bright one. The next volume will presumably deal with the struggle between the Army and the Parliament, the Independents and the Presbyterians, which followed the execution of Charles I. In the concluding pages of *The King's War*, Miss Wedgwood seems to promise that in this next volume she will explore the revolution which failed — the social revolution of Lilburne, Walwyn and Overton, of Winstanley and the Diggers — and that her theme will be "the struggle between authority . . . and the people." If she does this, if she writes a thematic history, will she not have created a revolution in her own methods as violent, in its way, as that which dethroned and decapitated Charles I? We must wait and see. Since she is a splendid writer and a scrupulous historian — that is the least that can be said of her — I, for one, shall await the next volume with a good deal of eagerness.

The Robert Frost Controversy

M. L. Rosenthal

I DON'T know just what Lionel Trilling said at Robert Frost's eighty-fifth birthday party; I gather he pointed out, with heart-stirring allusions to Sophocles and the whole tradition of tragic poetry, the obvious fact that Frost has dark depths which make him something more than a rural Longfellow. Whatever he said, it shivered J. Donald Adams' frail, sagging timbers someting awful. With the irritation of any man startled out of a deep sleep, Adams wrote a furious column in *The New York Times*. Those New York intellectuals, he cried, don't know the real, rural America; they should read more Emerson and less Lawrence; they're "lost in the Freudian woods." Other Furies flew into the *Times* letter-column to say it was high time those Trilling-types were shot in their tracks. But in all this glorious firing of popguns, I love best Mr. Adams' fit of abysmal indignation:

> Professor Trilling confessed that he thinks of Frost as a "terrifying" poet, and that "the universe he conceives is a terrifying universe." Holy mackerel! Frost simply sees the universe as it is and accepts it. . . .

I can't decide whether I prefer the "Holy mackerel!" or the "simply" — or the bland assumption that Frost is an indigenous poet who rose into prominence as naturally and easily as your Aunt Sally learnt how to bake those blueberry pies for which our boys fought and died. Frost had to move to England when he was thirty-seven, and assimilate himself to the Georgian movement there, before he could get any recognition at all. As Pound put it more than twenty years ago, speaking of the inability of the J. Donald Adamses to recognize the real thing right under their noses, "Even Frost the prize autochtonous specimen made his début in London, and was forced into the local New England bucolic recognition from Kensington, W. 8. The *pièces justificatives* are the back files of *Poetry* and the *Egoist* from October 1912 onward. The *Little Review*, 1917-19, as monthly, with the later quarterly issues." And two decades before *this*, reviewing *North of Boston* (published by David Nutt in England in 1914), Pound asked: "Why, IF there are serious people in America, desiring literature of America, literature accepting present conditions, rendering American life with sober fidelity — why, in heaven's name, is this book of New England Eclogues given under a foreign imprint?"

All of which goes to show, "simply,"

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that it took the foreigners, the expatriates, and the new critics they sparked into action to push this spokesman for one kind of American experience into indifferent American faces. Once he broke through the barrier, however, the publicists (with the aid of Frost's own public personality) turned him into the sagacious and humorous country-poet Mr. Adams loves. This role is one variant of that grand archetype the Good Grey Poet into which they have relegated Whitman and Sandburg; one would never guess the brute realities Frost so often deals with. Frost himself, as it happens, does not encourage people to think about them, and perhaps has half-forgotten his own horror at some of his realizations. It is easier for the general reader, and for the poet as a popular figure, to think of his work as a kind of rich radiation outwards from a basic foundation of nature-poetry and local-colorism. Certainly the wonderful specificity of his impressions of persons and places and experiences is inseparable from the fabric of almost any Frost-poem.

> These flowery waters and these
> watery flowers
> From snow that melted only yester-
> day. —"Spring Pools"

> I'm going out to clean the pasture
> spring;
> I'll only stop to rake the leaves away
> (And wait to watch the water clear,
> I may) . . . —"The Pasture"

> Out in the ploughed ground in the
> cold a digger,
> Among unearthed potatoes standing
> still,
> Was counting winter dinners, one a
> hill. . . . —"The Investment"

This is the deceptive staple of Frost's reputation, this lyrical and realistic repossession of the rural and the "natural." For most of his readers it has the charm of the completely exotic; literate America is not, for the most part, to be found in "the country," and moreover the world of modern poetry has been dominated by a metropolitan consciousness. Frost gives us welcome release from that consciousness, puts us in touch with something "purer," something idyllic, which yet is miraculously real. The "digger" and his wife in "The Investment" are even miserably poor, though not defeated by their poverty. But beyond the surface appeal of all this, there lurks the further implication of the "terrifying" which Trilling feels and every other perceptive reader must feel. At his most intense Frost is as close to the panicky edge of sensibility as Eliot. The kind of mind at work in his poetry is neither that of a plain New England farmer nor that of a Romantic rediscoverer of the land. It is what Yeats called "the modern mind in search of its own meanings." The spirit is comparable to that of the English Georgians among whom Frost first became certain of his true bearings. Only, his work is richer than theirs in every way; it includes the nostalgic, it "proves" the pastoral pleasures, it savors the contemplative calm ancient poets praised, but it also seeks to encompass the dreadful and the neurasthenia-breeding aspects of man's existence as the modern consciousness feels them.

NOTHING quite brings out Frost's "morbidity" so painfully as his poems centering on the characters of women. The wife's hysteria in "Home-Burial" is a characteristic outlet for this poet's shocked sense of the helpless cruelty of things. Set against the husband's accursed matter-of-factness (not that *he* lacks feeling either), it provides the decisive energy of the poem. The woman's voice carries the pain of a primal wound:

> If you had any feelings, you that dug
> With your own hand — how could
> you! — his little grave;
> I saw you from that very window
> there,
> Making the gravel leap and leap in
> air,
> Leap up, like that, like that, and
> land so lightly
> And roll back down the mound be-
> side the hole. . . .

Frost's men, with some exceptions, play the game more according to the rules. They take pride in their workmanship, as does the poor home-burier, and thereby can hold life's destructive terrors at bay. Perhaps something of this sort is implied (in addition to a plea of guilt at remaining aloof from struggles involving "the common good") in the confessional stanza of "Two Tramps in Mud-Time":

> Good blocks of wood it was I
> split. . . .
> The blows that a life of self-control
> Spares to strike for the common good
> That day, giving a loose to my soul,
> I spent on the unimportant wood.

The women, however, are likely to be overborne by an ultimate emptiness or grossness or fear. In the speaker's own *persona* or that of some other male figure, we find almost always some saving humor or sense of valued mystery or deliberate understatement. Not so in female-dominated poems like "The Hill Wife," "A Servant to Servants" and "The Subverted Flower." This last poem gives the character of a young girl a surprising turn; she is subtly pictured as both innocent and mean and narrow, and the interest of this characterization is such that we are almost diverted from the glimpse of sexual squalor she has shared with her shame-faced would-be lover. The abyss yawns in this poem, whose mixture of disgust and naked terror is like the death-horror of the first stanza of "Design." Both poems portray the perversion of vital force implicit in the very structure of existence. In "Design" the effect of *morbidezza* comes from the awful, silent whiteness, the grotesque acrobatics of the little circus-act Frost says he has come upon.

> I found a dimpled spider, fat and
> white,
> On a white heal-all, holding up a
> moth
> Like a white piece of rigid satin
> cloth —
> Assorted characters of death and
> blight
> Mixed ready to begin a morning
> right
> Like the ingredients of a witches'
> broth —
> A snow-drop spider, a flower like
> froth,
> And dead wings carried like a paper
> kite.

The sestet of this sonnet lapses into a tiresomely "profound" questioning reminiscent of Hardy and Robinson, its point being to find in this uniquely dreadful configuration some "purpose"—

> What but design of darkness to
> appall? —
> If design govern in a thing so small.

What oft was thought and oft so well expressed — and that brings us to another subject. Frost *has* his weaknesses (sententiousness and a certain formal timidity), and I think the poetic community is on the whole aware of them. At his frequent best he dams them off or washes them out entirely. Who thinks of them in the midst of the bizarre, soul-chilling characterizations of "The Pauper Witch of Grafton" and "The Witch of Coös," or in the face of a dazzling line like

> Ten million silver lizards out of snow!

But they are there, and he has a

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right to them, as it were. No man — especially a man whose true virtues are as compelling as Frost's — was ever made an inch taller by false praise. The real poet is engaged, to echo Yeats again, in a quarrel with himself. It is never a case of his being either a great, sunny genius of The Folk or nothing. Frost is much more than his weaknesses, but without them I do not think his strengths would be what they are. Something there is in him that does not love a pure, simple, extroverted affirmation, and the special character of his work rises from his resisting the temptation to betray his own nature. That struggle is very American — also very European, human, Emersonian, Freudian, or what have you — and he wages it even in his lesser moments, as in the couplet ending "Design" or in the (to my mind) overrated "The Gift Outright," which Mr. Adams praises because of what he doubtless imagines its unqualified nativism of feeling. It is a powerful native voice Frost brings to us, idiosyncratic and stubborn — no doubt of that. But it has not yet really been listened to after all, despite all the copies of *Collected Poems* printed and sold in the last three decades.

Second Impressions

Review of Paperbacks

Robert M. Wallace

Seventeenth Century

PROBABLY no century is more exciting than the seventeenth, when the modern world was taking shape and literary men were devising ways to comment on its moral and intellectual character. *The Philosophy of Spinoza* by Harry Austryn Wolfson (Meridian, $1.95) treats Spinoza as at once "the last of the mediaevals" and "the first of the moderns" and thus shows a philosophical tradition being transformed to deal with new problems and express a fresh outlook. Definitive, scrupulous and exciting in its sweep. *Medieval and Early Modern Science* by A. C. Crombie (Anchor, 2 v., 95c ea.), not notably original but notably readable, by spanning a dozen centuries clarifies the often forgotten strength of both periods as well as the profound changes. Many illustrations.

Sir H. J. C. Grierson's *Cross Currents in 17th Century English Literature* (Torchbooks, $1.85) and his selection, *Methaphysical Lyrics & Poems of the Seventeenth Century* (Galaxy, $1.75), nearly four decades after their publication and in Sir Herbert's ninety-third year, have been supplemented, not supplanted. The conflicts of the world, the flesh and the spirit are brilliantly clarified even in his less weighty chapters, such as "Love Poetry." The selection of poetry in the anthology and the brilliant introduction on the metaphysicals are basic and standard.

Life in a Noble Household 1641-1700 by Gladys Scott Thomson (Ann Arbor, $1.95) recreates the daily life, the piety, the Whig sympathies and the business acumen of the fifth Earl of Bedford. He succeeded to the earldom on the day Charles I threw away Strafford and lived through the most critical developments of English political doctrine. Yet his little library was drably conventional, his thoughts settled on the obvious. He bought all of Baxter but no Milton, a two-shilling life of William of Orange but no Locke on Civil Government.

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★

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Briefly, one hesitates to pry on such warm and innocent flesh.

Literature

Selected Poems of D. H. Lawrence (Compass, 95c) generously represents Lawrence's varying styles; Kenneth Rexroth's introduction clarifies individual poems but is overly rhapsodic.

The Last of the Provincials by Maxwell Geismar (Hill and Wang, $2.45), a standard study of the American novel, 1915-1925, analyzes Mencken, Lewis, Cather, Anderson and Fitzgerald as representative of the decade in which urban industrialism largely crowded out rural ways of life.

The Solitary Singer: A Critical Biography of Walt Whitman by Gay Wilson Allen (Evergreen, $2.95), massive, authoritative, a vital narrative and analysis. The best now available.

The Portable Melville, Jay Leyda, editor, (Viking, $1.45) contains *Typee, Billy Budd, Bartleby* complete, numerous letters and poems and well annotated selections. Arranged to represent persistent themes and a writing career unbroken by the commonly assumed period of silence.

Leftover Life to Kill by Caitlin Thomas (Evergreen, $1.75) painful and largely futile, is a high-pitched accounting of Caitlin's abandoned winter in Elba after Dylan's death.

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The World of William Faulkner by Ward L. Miner (Evergreen, $1.45) laboriously and aridly shows some parallels between Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha and Jefferson and their real counterparts.

Art

Leonardo da Vinci by Sir Kenneth Clark (Penguin, $1.50), a standard study of Leonardo's art and thought, appreciably revised for this well-made, heavily illustrated edition.

Art by Clive Bell (Capricorn, $1.15), formative, sometimes salty pronouncement of the post-Impressionist doctrine of significant form.

Art as Experience by John Dewey (Capricorn, $1.35), probably the best development of the pragmatists' view of aesthetics generally, of all the arts as "enhancements of the processes of everyday life." Omits illustrations.

Lascaux: Paintings and Engravings by Annette Laming (Penguin, $1.25), one of a series on the Old Stone Age, is soberer, more thorough and scholarly than Kühn's popular *On the Track of Prehistoric Man*. Profuse line and halftone illustrations.

Vasari's Lives of the Artists, abridged and edited by Betty Burroughs (Simon and Schuster, $1.95; cloth, $5), forty-seven lives condensed from Mrs. Foster's translation in the fullest abridgment in paper covers; supplementary notes and sixty excellent black-and-white halftones.

Politics and Law

The Spirit of Liberty, Papers and Addresses of Learned Hand, Irving Dilliard, editor, (Vintage, $1.25). A rigorous and beautiful clarity of logic and style illuminates the judge's appreciation of law and breadth of wisdom. Vintage edition adds three selections.

Economics and the Art of Controversy by John Kenneth Galbraith (Vintage, 95c). Like the Beards, Max Lerner and to some extent Drucker, Galbraith skillfully argues that topics of economic controversy today have slight substance but much noise.

The Russian Revolution (Anchor, $1.45), selected without distortion and edited by F. W. Dupee from *The History of the Russian Revolution* by Leon Trotsky; summarizes Volume II, "The Attempted Counter-Revolution," but reprints most of I, "The Overthrow of Tzarism" and III "The Triumph of the Soviets." Convenient lists of events, persons, places and political groups and terms.

Peculiar Institution

The absurdity of slavery within a society of free men is vividly seen as Dwight Lowell Dumond in *Antislavery Origins of the Civil War in the United States* (Ann Arbor, $1.65) shows how from the 1830s moderation and compromise became impossible as slavery pre-empted attention and all liberties suffered erosion, especially freedom of discussion. (Omits bibliographies promised in the Contents.) *The Road to Reunion 1865-1900* by Paul H. Buck (Vintage, $1.25) traces the remarkable development of a national point of view on many subjects, including the national acceptance of Jim Crow. *The Myth of the Negro Past* by Melville J. Herskovits (Beacon, $2.25) in 1941 was the first published among the seminal studies clustering around Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma*, central statement of the now dominant view. (New Introduction and bibliography review scholarship, 1941-1958.)

Miscellaneous

Japanese Theatre by Faubion Bowers, foreword by Joshua Logan (Dramabooks, $2.25) is fullest on Kabuki plays and includes three in translation but also provides for non-specialists a comprehensive and satisfying survey.

The Voyage of Argo (Penguin, 95c), an easy, zestful new prose translation of Apollonius' *Argonautica* by E. V. Rieu with a pointed, sensitive introduction.

Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres (Anchor, $1.25) and *The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma* (Capricorn, $1.25) by Henry Adams reflect and expound Adams' effort to unite history and the physical theories of energy and evolution. The latter, first privately addressed to American teachers of history, has a valetudinarian air, but the study of thirteenth-century unity is still warm with the spirit and life of the time.

Mathematics for the General Reader by E. C. Titchmarsh (Anchor, 95c), like Whitehead's older *Introduction*, is excellent for non-specialists concerned with the philosophy and development of several branches of mathematics.

Fiction: *Sister Carrie* by Theodore Dreiser (Riverside, 95c), introduction by Claude Simpson. *On the Road* by Jack Kerouac (Compass, $1.25). *The Subterraneans* by Jack Kerouac (Avon, 35c), introductory note by Henry Miller. *Against Nature* by J.-K. Huysmans (Penguin, 95c), a new translation of *A Rebours* by Robert Baldick; good introduction. *The Young Caesar* by Rex Warner (Mentor, 50c), an imaginative scholar's historical novel written in the first person. *The Masters* by C. P. Snow (Anchor, $1.25), the power struggle in a Cambridge college.

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THEATRE

Harold Clurman

Paris

IN ADDITION TO the repertory of the two national dramatic theatres and the two national opera houses, a new Marcel Marceau program and several girlie revues, some forty plays now are running in this strangely becalmed city. Few of them can be recommended.

Of the plays I saw, the most carefully produced is *La Descente d'Orphée*: Tennessee Williams' *Orpheus Descending*. Raymond Rouleau directed it and Lydia de Nobili, a talented Franco-Italian designer, provided the setting. The star is Arletty, a great favorite here, and the dancer, Jean Babilée, is the young man with the guitar.

The play is intelligently and intelligibly done. I add the second adverb because in London what with the Italian leading lady (Isa Miranda) and the thick Southern accents the other actors found it necessary to assume. I could follow little of the Royal Court production. And I was familiar with the text, having directed it in New York.

The French production, though it had atmosphere and a few eerie effects, was acted with far less passion and poetry than was the Broadway original. Though colorful, the French interpretation was essentially naturalistic. This makes one wonder whether, contrary to common opinion (including, to some extent, my own), the supposedly "method"-dominated — and therefore presumably "realism"-dominated — American stage is not more emotionally charged and theatrically heightened than the French and sometimes the English are supposed to be.

A very successful play at present is Félicien Marceau's *La Bonne Soupe* (slang for "big money") which most of the French spectators and many of the American take quite seriously. I could see in it nothing but a series of blackout sketches — burlesque fashion — about the business of love. If the play has any point, it is to show that love or rather love-making is commonly nothing but a mixture of habitual low-pressure sensuality, stupidity, hypocrisy and venality. It contains some leering humor and a boldness of speech almost routine by now on the French stage (and screen).

Superior to this is Anouilh's *L'Hurluberlu* (roughly translated: "The Scatterbrain"), which is the playwright's apology for his wicked humor and acrid idealism. The general who is the curmudgeon or the harebrain of the title is still another mask for Anouilh. Why is he so full of hate, the character is asked. It is not hate, he answers, but pain.

There is less hate or pain in this play than a wryly sentimental farcicality that produces several quite funny passages in which Anouilh manages both to kid himself and to reassert his cantankerous anarchism. He will hold out: contemporary society may be following "progress" to its true destiny, but he finds very little to admire in it. Its leveling democracy possesses for him neither virtue nor dignity. He will oppose it to the point of making himself absurd.

One cannot say of this latest Anouilh success that it is a good play. But there is no denying its cleverness. Its leading part is well acted by Paul Meurisse (the villain of that sadistic thriller *Diabolique*) and several others in smaller parts. The production — like many others in the Paris theatre today — is rather sloppily directed. Plans are announced for bringing *L'Hurluberlu* to New York next winter, with Rex Harrison in the title role. The transplantation will not be easy: the play's climate and frame of reference are largely local, and a translation for our stage will have to go beyond the problems of language.

Albert Camus has made Dostoevski's *The Possessed* into a three-and-a-half-hour play. It is so long since I have read the novel that I cannot speak confidently of the play's fidelity to its origin. What struck me most is that Camus again emphasizes certain preoccupations he expressed earlier in *The Rebel*. Central to this diffuse work is Verkhovensky, whose prototype was the Russian nihilist Nechaev (active between 1860 and 1882). Believing in no God, his motto was "all is permissible." No act was too low or violent if it advanced his ends. His ostensible goal is the fall of czarism, but Camus shows that this does not preclude contempt for the people the revolution is designed to set free.

What interests Camus in this is the relation of Verkhovensky's personality and philosophy to that of the Stalinist Bolsheviks. It is what interests the Parisian audience as well, plus a fascination — greatly enhanced since the war — with every form of evil, but especially reasoned evil.

It is just here, however, that the play's weakness is most apparent. For the rational and intellectual exposition that Camus brings to bear robs the matter of its Dostoevskian spirit, the atmos-

With Love and No Desire

Look at the man, aglistening with rain,
straight from the womb of showers in July.
I gaze at him with love and no desire
to touch the skin caressed by vesper rains;

with love and no desire or design
to touch, to hold, much less to make it mine.

I met him on a stormy afternoon—
'twas either yesterday or yesteryear,—
quite unobstrusively beneath a tree's
green sheltered tent, along a winding road.

We waited there to pass the time of storm—
as though you could!—
when he, look at this man!—
stepped swiftly from a raincloud toward me
to lend a hand of love and no desire.

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phere of nightmare anguish that alone gives human significance and credibility to the horror of the events. French lucidity converts into cold and somewhat silly melodrama what Russian "mysticism" renders real and universally pertinent.

The result — further enforced by Camus' inability to direct actors with more than superficial effect — is a play which, for all its ambitious intentions, must be judged an artistic failure.

IONESCO has four plays on the boards at this moment. Two are revivals of one-act plays already seen in New York and two are new plays. I saw one of these — a much too long work called *Tueur sans gages* (Killer Without Reward). Like all of Ionesco, it is theatrically intriguing in a certain terrifying (or merely bizarre) comedy vein — partly symbolic, hysterically voluble, and quite clear if you do not expect everything you see in the theatre to be literal and explicit.

The killer is, once again, the senselessness of contemporary life — the inexorable, impenetrable incomprehensibility of Everything! The play begins with the entrance of a simple young man into a part of the city he never knew existed. It is the ultra modern creation of an official architect — more functionary than artist — whose work is the last word in efficiency, splendor and luminous luxury, the ideal in short of twentieth-century planning. What spoils this urban paradise is the presence of a mysterious murderer whose regular and motiveless killings terrify the populace but leave the authorities in a state of indifference.

Quixotically indignant, the young man sets out to track the criminal down. He goes through a series of grotesquely sinister adventures amid the clamor and hurly-burly of a town where would-be dictators (under the sign of the goose) are opposed only by lone idealists whose faith is chiefly in thinkers and artists, and where the police ignore the detection of crime and devote themselves to an insulting regulation of the traffic.

Finally, the isolated young man encounters the killer, who is found to be an insignificant moron rather than a brutal criminal. The young man seeks a motive for the murders: he expostulates, pleads, reasons, forgives, threatens. The monster merely grins and grunts idiotically, and his innocent adversary at last becomes impotent to act. He falls to his knees at the mercy of the murderer's knife. The final speech is perhaps half an hour long — the most extended address I have ever heard in the theatre — an ironically written cry of despair.

AT THE OPPOSITE pole is Barrault's production of Offenbach's *La Vie Parisienne* at the very same Palais Royal theatre where it was originally presented under Napoleon III (when Paris first attained its reputation for gaiety). It is a sprightly operetta about tourism in which no one (in Barrault's company at any rate) can sing or dance but in which everyone nevertheless does so with light heart and infectious spirit.

Such a carefree mood — foolish or charming as you choose to view it — suits the not-so-gay Paris of today where the citizens dwell in a mood which may reflect apathy or a grim consciousness that either immolation or some sort of deliverance may not be far off.

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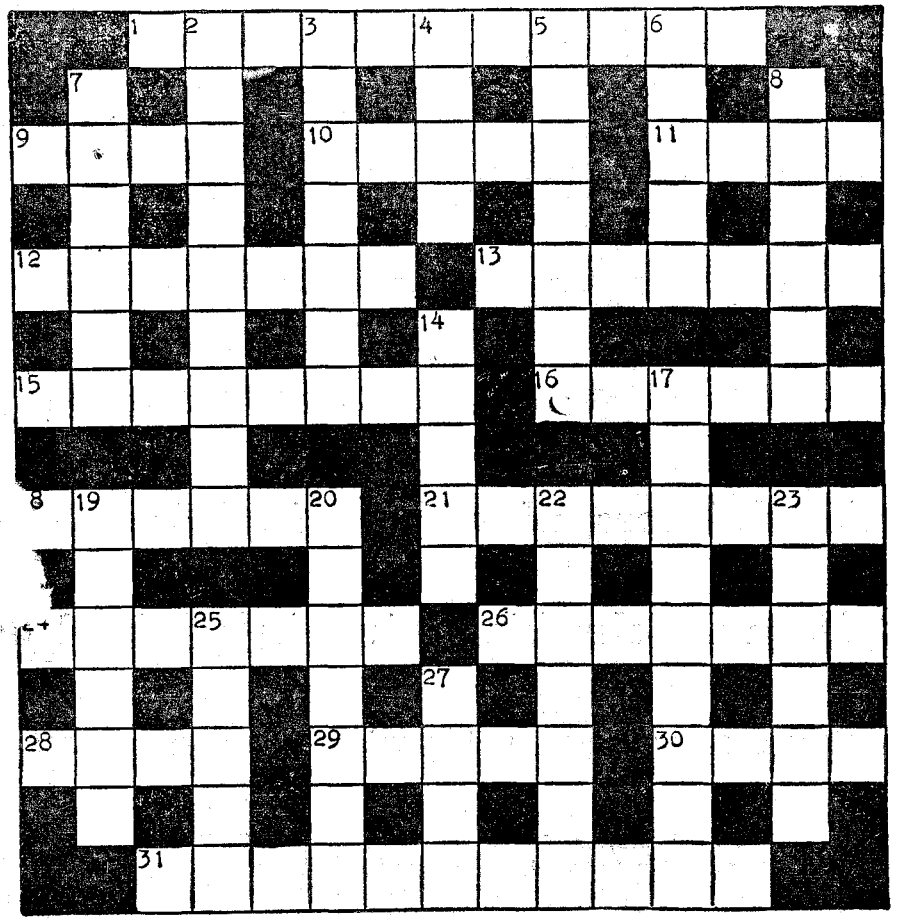
Crossword Puzzle No. 825

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 Oleo's sometimes found on the plate. (5, 6)
9 and 7 Shouldn't be a complete winner off the board. (4, 6)
10 The false impression of a slip in the factory? (5)
11 See 23 down
12 Sign, as he does, to give ground. (7)
13 Bespatter, while intrinsically separated (7)
15 House types are low types. (8)
16 The stern type would never be associated with a comforter. (6)
18 Should such a potential criminal crack under pressure? (3, 3)
21 5 down might suggest exhibiting them for the fair. (8)
24 Hooking a sucker, perhaps, and giving him a lift. (7)
26 Was Hilton's range of perception lost? (7)
28 A sort of jockey to find, if it goes over. (4)
29 What one does to hue and cry. (5)
30 Happiness is counted with one of these in play. (4)
31 and 5 Experts at rapid anagramming? (5-6, 7)

DOWN:

2 A bad case, but of a clue that's obscure. (9)
3 Hugo said this happiness of life is the conviction that we are loved. (7)
4 Not necessarily a dirty politician who suggested compromise. (4)
5 See 31 across
6 To glut and defile. (5)
7 See 9 across
8 Such a drama is suited primarily for reading rather than production. (6)
14 Proving a certain amount of dirt in the water is allowed. (5)
17 Drawing forth a Yale quotation? (9)
19 Are such figures soluble chemically? (6)
20 Rosa is such a name. (7)
22 Get up to make a bow with nothing inside? It might be fatal! (7)
23 and 11 across The law of the land? (6, 4)
25 Sometimes put on by women in a terrific hurry! (5)
27 This white is also Chinese. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 824

ACROSS: 1 and 8 down Bark up the wrong tree; 9 Gauchos; 10 Plumber; 11 Nearly; 12 Reveille; 15 Assam; 17 Surer; 19 Tonight; 21 Leverage; 23 Eskimo; 25 Canasta; 26 Abusive; 27 Neanderthal man. DOWN: 1 and 21 down Beginner's luck; 2 Rhubarb; 3 Upholster; 4 Toss; 5 Expressing; 6 Route; 7 Nibbles; 13 Centigrade; 15 and 14 across Angostura bitters; 16 Misgovern; 18 Revenge; 20 Tritium; 22 Rosin; 24 Part.

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